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## THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE SICHERHEITSDIENST DES RFSS(\*)

George C. Browder(+)

**Abstract:** Such basic data as the size of an organization at various stages of its development are not only essential to more sophisticated quantitative analyses, but they cast light on many important aspects of organizational history. Since such data are available on the Sicherheitsdienst des RFSS for only the years 1935 and 1937-1944, the numerical growth of the early years must be reconstructed. This is done by projections from data on the Führerkorps compared with samples of known members and two surviving benchmarks. Further analysis of available data reveals: the effect of wartime personnel requirements on SD membership; the changing ratio between Amtstätige SD and members in the police; and the relative size of the SD-HA and the RSHA office staffs. All together, the resultant data raises questions about previously cited sources on the size of the SD and analyses of its personnel policy.

Before one can undertake any significant quantitative analysis, some rather basic data must be available. For an organization like the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) des Reichsführers SS, such basic data often fail, for instance, its numerical strength, specifically its growth over its entire existence. Beyond the necessity for evaluating the significance of population samples, detailed growth profiles add depth to more traditional organizational histories. One must know the strength in order to make judgments about an organization's capacity to fulfill its mission. Even before more sophisticated quantitative analysis, a growth profile casts light on the membership, personnel politics, and those political, social, and economic forces and interests that influenced the organization and its role in history. As a first step toward a more thorough analysis of SD membership, this article attempts to establish a profile of its numerical growth.

For the years from 1935 through 1944, the problem is relatively simple (see Chart 1 and Table 1). For the first five months of 1935, official Gesamtstärkemeldungen der SS containing data on personnel under the SD Hauptamt have survived.(1) The Statistische Jahrbücher der SS for 1937 and 1938(2) provide details for those years. Of the biannual Stärkemeldungen der SS produced between 1940 and 1944, the author has found six.(3) Altogether, these sources provide twenty-six points from which a growth pattern emerges, so the approximate size of the SD can be estimated for any time between 1935 and late 1944.

Furthermore, the data for the later years provide a significant detail: they distinguish between those members who were "einberufen zur Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS oder zum Reichsarbeitsdienst" and those who were on the job in Sipo and SD. The 1938 Statistisches Jahrbuch indicates 130 Zugehörige under the SD-Hauptamt (i.e. "SS-Angehörige, die ihrer Dienstpflicht beim Reichsarbeitsdienst oder der Wehrmacht genügen"). Surviving SS personnel records(4) indi

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Chart 1

# Die Zahlstärke des SD

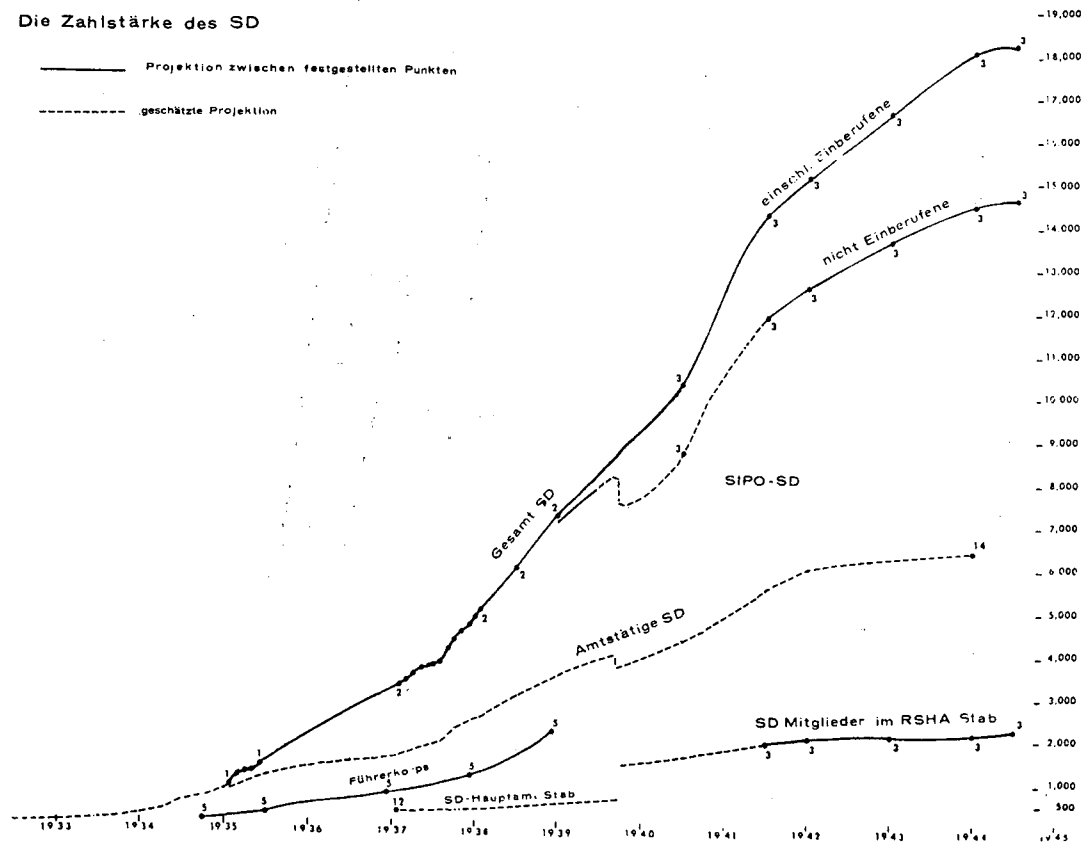


Table 1

Die Zahlstärke der SS

Date	einschl. Einberufene	Gesamt SS		RGHA Stab	geschätzte Projektion	
		nicht Einberufene	Führerkorps		Amtstätige SS	SD-HA
1.10.34 (5)			92			
1.35 (1)	912				800	
2.35 (1)	1,071					
3.35 (1)	1,169					
4.35 (1)	1,217					
5.35 (1)	1,419					
1.7.35 (5)			240		1,100	
6.36					1,500	
1.12.36 (5)			741			
1.37 (2)	3,260				1,600	
15.1.37 (12)						(360)
2.37 (2)	3,385				1,700	
3.37 (2)	3,494					
4.37 (2)	3,621					
5.37 (2)	3,678				1,800	
6.37 (2)	3,764					
7.37 (2)	3,764					
8.37 (2)	4,117				2,200	
9.37 (2)	4,369					
10.37 (2)	4,521					
11.37 (2)	4,688					
1.12.37 (5)			1,083			
12.37 (2)	4,851				2,500	
31.1.38 (2)	5,050					
30.6.38 (2)	5,999				3,000	
1.12.38 (5)			2,172			
31.12.38 (2)	7,230				3,500	
9.39				1,480(gesch.)		650
1.7.40 (3)	10,313	8,710			4,300	
30.6.41 (3)	14,293	11,881		1,963	5,500	
31.12.41 (3)	15,182	12,568		2,030	6,000	
30.6.42 *	15,918	13,087		2,102	6,100	
31.12.42 (3)	16,706	13,670		2,155	6,250	
1.1.44 (14)					6,482	
30.6.44 (3)	18,284	14,713		2,276		

\* A seventh Stärkemeldung der SS von 30. Juni 1942, T-580/88/436, became available to the author after the charts were produced and the article was written.

dicate that such SD personnel were periodically on leave for exercises with the military. The same records indicate increasingly significant periods of active duty in Wehrmacht or Waffen-SS following the outbreak of the war, which is the basis for the projected S-curve for nicht einberufene Mitglieder in late 1939. This projection remains purely speculative, however, until specific data become available. As a matter of fact, the relatively smooth projected curve for the nicht Einberufene during 1940-1941 does not reflect the irregularities undoubtedly produced by the cycles of mobilization and demobilization between the Polish and Russian campaigns.

## RECONSTRUCTING THE EARLY YEARS

The current absence of data for the early years, 1932 to 1935, requires another projection. Fortunately, a variety of clues make reconstruction possible. To begin with, fairly reliable data on the SD Führerkorps survive in the Dienstaltersliste der SS (DAL) for 1934 through 1938.<sup>(5)</sup> The author counts 92 SD officers for 1934, 240 for 1935, 741 for 1936, 1083 for 1937, and 2172 for 1938. Not only does this provide some data on officer personnel going into 1934, but it also provides a basis for projecting total membership. Comparing the Gesamtstärke to the Führerkorps yields a ratio: 3.33:1 for 1938; 4.34:1 for 1937; 4.05:1 for 1936; 6.25:1 for 1935. The fluctuating ratio is at its highest in 1935 when the data on Gesamtstärke begin. Using that ratio to project a Gesamtstärke for October 1934 yields approximately 575 and a curve which continues on the sharp growth pattern of 1935. Obviously this pattern could not have prevailed for long and must have been more gradual in earlier months, for the SD emerged as early as the summer of 1932.

For a quantitative analysis of the SD membership, the author has compiled data on over 322 persons identified as members between June 1932 and the end of 1934, a sample that continues to grow. Among these, almost one hundred percent of the Führerkorps has been identified up to October 1934. For instance, the number who were apparently SS officers in the SD on the 1. Oktober effective date of the 1934 DAL is 98, exceeding the 92 count in the DAL. (Such a margin of error in the DAL is to be expected in any compilation of personnel due to administrative error and lag-time in record systems) This list of SD-Führer can be plotted to chart the size of the Führerkorps from mid-1932 up to the data provided in the DAL (see Chart 2 and Table 2).

Using the 1935 Gesamtstärke to Führer ratio of 6.25, a hypothetical Gesamtstärke from 1932 to 1935 can be plotted. Of course, there is no reason to assume that this ratio remained constant throughout the early years, and such a projected Gesamtstärke curve would contain an uncalculable margin of error.

There are benchmarks for early SD membership that allow some comparisons, however. In his Nürnberg testimony, Rolf Heinz Höppner (SS-Obersturmbannführer and member of the SD) testified that he learned from comrades that before 30 January 1933, the SD "had hardly more than 20 or 30 regular members and not many more honorary members."<sup>(6)</sup> Thus Höppner indicates a Gesamtstärke of 40 to 60 members that corresponds in its lower range with the Gesamtstärke projected from the Führerkorps.

Unfortunately, Höppner's testimony is admittedly second-hand, for he did not become affiliated with the SD until 1934.<sup>(7)</sup> Furthermore, testifying from memory as late as 1946, he was likely to have confused terms relating to personnel, terms that underwent changes between 1933 and 1935 when SD and SS personnel affairs were being standardized. Distinguishing between regular members and the subsequently standardized category of "ehrenamtliches Mit-

Chart 2

Die geschätzte Zahlstärke des SD

1932-1935

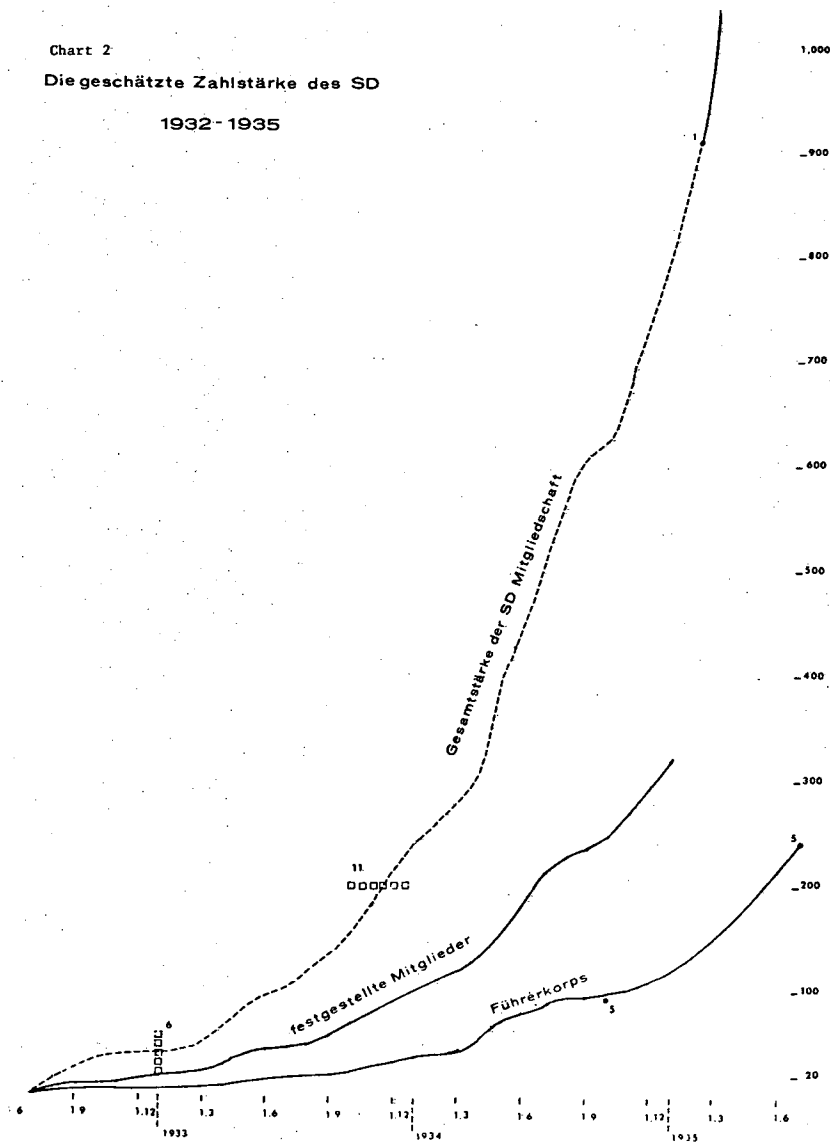


Table 2

Die geschätzte Zahlstärke des SD, 1932-1935

<u>Date</u>	<u>festgestellte Punkten</u>		<u>geschätzte Mitgliedschaft</u>
	<u>Führerkorps</u>	<u>Mitglieder</u>	
1.8.32	4	7	
1.9.32		12	28
1.10.32	5		
1.11.32	6	15	
1.12.32		16	40
30.1.33 (7)			(20-60)
1.2.33		21	
1.3.33		22	50
1.4.33	10	31	
1.5.33	13	40	
1.6.33	14	44	95
1.7.33	15	47	
1.8.33	20	51	
1.9.33	21	56	140
1.10.33	25	69	
1.11.33	29	79	
H. 33 (12)			(200)
1.12.33	33	88	215
1.1.34	38	101	
1.2.34	41	117	
1.3.34	43	128	280
1.4.34	50	146	
1.5.34	73	170	
1.6.34	82	194	450
1.7.34	84	213	
1.8.34	98	229	
1.9.34	99	240	610
1.10.34	101	248	
1.11.34	103	273	
1.12.34	111	304	750
1.1.35		323	
30.1.35 (1)			(912)

glied" (unsalaried member who could often hold an important command, supervisory, or working position part-time while holding full-time employ elsewhere) during the early months of the SD history is potentially misleading. Very few of the early members were hauptamtlich (salaried, full-time members). For instance, such an important position as SD-Gruppenleiter West (later Oberabschnittsleiter) was ehrenamtlich until September 1933 when Wilhelm Albrecht assumed that office.(8) The former Leiter, Dr. August Simon, was ehrenamtlich, preferring to maintain his medical practice.(9)

In fact, the surviving early records of SD Gruppe West indicate that the major distinction among early SD members was between Mitglieder and Mitarbeiter. The latter category (some of whom were SS Angehörige, some not) was also usually unsalaried but working for the SD in a probationary status. They were recruited by local Gruppen- and Bezirksleiter, and not registered als Mitglieder with the SD-Zentrale (later Amt, then Hauptamt) until nominated for and granted Mitgliedschaft.(10) Thus Höppner's estimate of the regular members might apply to the total official membership (haupt- und ehrenamtlich), and his estimate of the honorary members might refer to Mitarbeiter. Consequently, Höppner's statement, being so subject to interpretation, gives a range from 20 to 60 for the January 1933 SD Mitglieder.

To include Mitarbeiter, any estimate of the working force available to the SD during the first year-and-a-half must be expanded beyond the Gesamtstärke of the Mitgliedschaft by as much as one hundred percent. Neither calculation would take into consideration the Vertrauensleute Netz, the network of confidential, volunteer "resource-persons", being constructed during this period and ultimately numbering in the thousands.

The second benchmark unfortunately is not directly available to the author for evaluation. In his book on the SS, Heinz Höhne cited an unpublished work by Josef Wulf, Die SS, to the effect that the little SD was a "kleines Häuflein von 100 hauptamtlichen und 100 ehrenamtlichen SD-Männern (Herbst 1933)..."(11) A plot for 200 SD Mitglieder across the autumn months produces a bar through the middle of which passes the Gesamtstärke curve projected from the Führerkorps. Thus this projection appears on track.

A second projected Gesamtstärke curve can be produced from the author's list of 322 known members of the SD (see Chart 2). For January 1, 1933, the list contains 17 members (haupt- und ehrenamtlich, but excluding known Mitarbeiter), 43 % of the average figure of 40 derived from Höppner's testimony. That produces a multiplier of 2.35 which, when applied to the curve for identified members, produces another Gesamtstärke projection closely resembling that derived from the Führerkorps, differing from it by fewer than 10 at most points until mid-1934, when the author's efforts to identify members produce a predictably lower percentage of the total. This curve also passes through the late autumn end of the bar for Wulf's data.

The author's plot for the Gesamtstärke of the SD Mitgliedschaft (Chart 2) is thus a compromise between the two projections from the Führerkorps and the identified membership up to September 1934, after which the projected plot from the Führerkorps is preferred. On any given date, the margin of error for any such projection is great, but, given the relatively small numbers involved, deviations between this plot and the actual figures could not be large numbers. For the first twelve months, a deviation of 20 seems an extreme possibility covering the maximum of Höppner's range. From mid-1933 through spring 1934, a deviation of 40 is not unlikely, thus including the earliest possible date for Wulf's data. Thereafter, a deviation of 100 could occur, considering the steepness of the growth curve. Despite the possibility for error on any given date, however, the overall projection should reflect



accurately the numerical growth of the SD. When all this is taken into consideration, it must also be remembered that for the first year-and-a-half, the actual work force of the SD was easily doubled by the Mitarbeiter, and the V-Leute-Netz was always greater.

#### OTHER SIGNIFICANT DATA

The surviving Stärkemeldungen provide insight into two other significant sets of quantitative data about the SD. First of all, they provide data on Reichs-sicherheitshauptamt (RSHA), Stab und ohne Stab, within the Gesamtstärke. This data on SD members in the "staff" refers to those working in the central office, the RSHA itself, mostly located in Berlin until dispersal due to air raids. Those figures for the nicht Einberufene provide a plot for the size of the Hauptamt itself, ranging from 17 % in 1941 to 15 % of the Gesamtstärke in 1944. This plot could be projected back at least to 1937, using the 17 % figure. The reliability of such a projection can be tested by Stabsbefehl für SD-Hauptamt Nr. 3/37.(12) This Stabsbefehl, dated January 15, 1937, provides the Signenzeichnung for all members of the Hauptamt from Stabsführer through Hilfskräfte. They total approximately 360 individuals, probably not including all clerical personnel. Since this was only 11 % of the Gesamtstärke for that date, it brings into focus the difference between the SD-Hauptamt of 1937 and the RSHA, created in September 1939.

The SD-Hauptamt commanded only over the SD, the intelligence agency of the NSDAP. The RSHA commanded over the entire Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und SD. The Sipo, created in 1936, included both the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo) and the Reichskriminalpolizei (Kripo), police forces of the state. Although many of these policemen were being drawn into the SD and thereby the SS, most of them remained unaffiliated with the SS or SD except through the command structure provided under the RSHA, which was a fusion of offices of Party and state. This reveals a further problem in the definition of the Gesamt SD.

From the first significant influx of political policemen into the SD in 1934, they represented a group apart from the working SD membership, not contributing directly to SD work, merely included as members, apparently to facilitate Heydrich's control over the newly absorbed political police. Later in 1935 and especially from 1938, even larger numbers of Sipo were absorbed as part of the process of building towards Himmler's concept of a Staatsschutz-korps.(13) This created a new division within the Gesamtstärke of the SD, one which was never given a formal designation during the Third Reich. For the sake of clarity, the author refers to those members of the SD who actually did SD work as the Amtstätige SD, as opposed to the Gesamt SD which included both Amtstätige SD and Sipo-SD members.

One surviving document provides a clue to the relative size of the Amtstätige SD and the Sipo-SD within the Gesamt SD. An RSHA strength report, status of January 1, 1944, breaks down Gestapo, Kripo und SD: Gestapo, 31,374; Kripo 12,792; SD 6,482; total 50,648.(14) Clearly the figure for the SD is not the Gesamt SD but the Amtstätige SD (see Chart 1). Since this is the only such report the author has found, the growth of the Amtstätige SD must also be reconstructed.

In the author's sample of known SD members in 1934, 40 or 12 % were political policemen in the various Länder. In June 1935, Himmler called for a report on SS and SD members in the Prussian Gestapo.(15) Out of approximately 2600 Beamten und Angestellten, 232 were in the SD and an additional 505 in the Allgemeine SS, most of whom were absorbed into the SD during the following year. Assuming that the Prussian Gestapo was 67 % of the political police

forces of all the Länder(16), there would have been approximately 350 SD men in all the political police in June 1935, or about 23 % of the Gesamt SD. With absorption of the remaining SS men by June 1936, there would have been over 1100 SD in the new Reichs-Gestapo, or at least 40 % of the Gesamt SD. Considering the continued, direct absorption of Gestapo and Kripo personnel into the SD, the percentage grew, increasing to over 50 % by 1938 when policemen began feeling greater pressure to join the SS and SD. This may have increased gradually to the 55 % indicated by early 1944, or it may have reached a higher percentage, only to decline later, since the effects of wartime demands on SD membership remains unstudied.

With these admittedly crude estimates, an approximation of the Amtstätige SD is provided in Chart 1. The difference between the plot for the Amtstätige SD and that of the Gesamt SD is the approximate size of the Sipo-SD, that is, those members of the Gestapo and Kripo who were also members of the SD.

These distinctions facilitate better projections for the size of the SD-Hauptamt and RSHA. The 1937 count for the SD-Hauptamt is now 18-19 % of the Amtstätige SD, more closely approximating the later ratio between SD personnel on the RSHA Stab and the Gesamt SD (15-17 %). Using the 18 % as a basis, another straight line projection for the SD-Hauptamt is plotted on Chart 1 up to 1939, a very crude approximation at best. Projecting back from the size of the RSHA in 1941 and taking 17 % of the Gesamtstärke des SD in December 1938, a projection approximating the size of the RSHA Stab from September 1939 is also provided. Of course this makes no allowance for the undoubted fluctuations due to mobilization for the Polish and Western campaigns.

#### OVERVIEW: A HISTORY OF THE SD

Charts 1 and 2 provide a picture of the growth of the SD that corresponds to its history as we know it. Following an initial foundation-laying stage in 1932, a brief plateau in the spring of 1933 developed while Himmler and Heydrich were pre-occupied with maneuvers surrounding the "Machtergreifung", culminating in acquisition of the Bavarian Political Police. Thereafter, growth was in spurts, perhaps corresponding to the Gauleiter attacks on the SD as spies, generating rumors of its dissolution, followed by announcements that it would not only continue but absorb competing agencies in the Party.(17) The greatest spurt of growth came in the spring of 1934 when Himmler and Heydrich acquired, with the Gestapo, control of all the political police in Germany and, therefore, the means for enforcing the SD monopoly as sole intelligence agency of the Party.

In the latter months of 1934 and throughout 1935, there were new spurts of growth followed by a generally increased rate of expansion. The spurts corresponded to the inclusion in the SD of those Gestapo personnel who were already members of the SS, but not yet the SD, a process that consumed the better part of 1935. Significantly, the SD underwent major growth at precisely the time when the Allgemeine SS was reduced and stabilized. Following the Röhm purge, the SS was reduced by about 25 %, returning in 1935 to a plateau of about 85 % of its earlier strength, where it remained until late 1937.(18) Obviously, the missions of the SD and its need for qualified personnel overrode Himmler's desire to refine the membership of the Allgemeine SS.

Contrary to previous studies(19), the growth of the Führerkorps and promotions therein during 1934 are not easily explained as rewards for work done in the blood-letting of June 30. Rapid growth in the SD Führerkorps und Gesamtstärke began as early as April and leveled off by August. They are

better explained by the absorption of the rival Party intelligence agencies and the expanded responsibilities that came with the SD's monopoly. Nevertheless, the author's sample of festgestellte Mitglieder indicates some interesting effects on SD personnel policy, perhaps related to the Röhms purge. Rather than an otherwise unexplainable increase in promotions, the change seems related more to the type of personnel being promoted. For instance, persons of lower-middle social status and lower educational levels received officer status at a rate disproportionately greater than any time before or after. Unfortunately, such an elaboration is beyond the scope of this report, and requires considerably more research and analysis.

The next increase in growth began after mid-1937 and lasted into the war, accompanied by a similar upward curve in the Führerkorps. This corresponded with the push to bring all suitable members of Sipo under the SS and SD (die Verschmelzung von SS und Polizei) and to bring about a Dienstgradangleichung between SS and police.(20)

The last and sharpest upsurge in growth occurred between mid-1940 and mid-1941, corresponding with the expansion of the war to its fullest scope. The expansion probably justified arguments for increasing the Gestapo and SD in the name of national security at a time before it was apparent that Hitler's aims had exceeded the manpower capacity of Germany. The subsequent decline in growth rate corresponded with the increasing drain on manpower, but nevertheless indicates that appeals for the inner security of the Reich continued to win resources for Sipo und SD despite more pressing needs.

#### EVALUATING TRADITIONAL SOURCES

Another advantage derived from this exercise provides a basis for evaluating the sources traditionally cited for the size of Sipo and SD. At Nürnberg, Walter Schellenberg, Amtsleiter VI, estimated the size of "Amt III with its organizational subsidiaries - 2,000 to 2,500; and the SD outside Germany, that is my Amt VI - about 400." (21) A total of 2,900 for the Amtstätige SD (excluding the few remaining in Amt VII) is impossibly low. By the same token, his data on the Gestapo (40-45,000) and Kripo (15-20,000) are considerably higher than the Iststärkenachweisung of January 1, 1944.(22)

The seemingly corroborative testimony of Otto Ohlendorf that his Amt III had 3,000 hauptamtliche Mitglieder is equally erroneous. Rather than clarifying the matter by adding that most of the work was done "essentially with honorary members," he confused it further by estimating their number at 30,000.(23) Here he carelessly mixed ehrenamtliche Mitglieder with the V-Leute, producing a confusion that has plagued studies of Sipo and SD ever since.

Thus it appears that these Nürnberg witnesses, who were never directly concerned with personnel statistics, were making very casual and misleading estimates. Such distortions need no longer plague studies of Sipo und SD. What needs to be done now is to refine these projections, if and when new data for specific dates are revealed.

#### NOTES

\* The research for this report was made possible through the financial support of the Research Foundation of the State University of New York and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

1 Gesamtstärkemeldung der SS, April 1935, Mai 1935, and Februar 1935 (inclu-

- ding the months of January and March), U.S. National Archives Microfilm T-175, Roll 111, Frame Nr. 2636039, 2635971, and 2636084 respectively (hereafter cited as T-175/Roll Nr./Frame Nr.), EAP 161-b-12/198. EAP file numbers can be used to cross reference microfilm citations to Bundesarchiv holdings.
- 2 Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schutzstaffel der NSDAP, 1937, T-175/205/4042259; and 1938, T-175/205/4042315/
  - 3 Stärkemeldung der Schutzstaffel vom 30. Juni 1941, T-175/111/2635750-51; vom 31. Dezember 1942, T-175/111/2635877, and -97; vom 30. Juni 1944, T-175/111/2635910-11, EAP 161-b-12/198; vom 31. Dezember 1943, T-175/141/2668921-22, EAP 161-b-12/381; vom 31. Dezember 1941, Schumacher Material T-580/88/Ordner 436; and SS-Hauptamt, Statistische Monatshefte, November 1940, einschl. Gesamtstärke der Schutzstaffel am 1. Juli 1940, T-580/88/436.
  - 4 SS-Offiziere und Rasse und Siedlungs Hauptamt personnel files survive in the U.S. Document Center Berlin (BDC) where they are being prepared for transfer to the archival authority of the Bundesrepublik.
  - 5 Dienstaltersliste der Schutzstaffel der N.S.D.A.P., Stand vom 1. Oktober 1934, 1. Juli 1935, 1. Dezember 1936, 1. Dezember 1937, and 1. Dezember 1938 are available in archives such as the Bundesarchiv, the BDC, and on microfilm, T-175/204 and 205. Unfortunately, those for the war years were limited to the higher ranks only, with a few complete lists maintained for Himmler's staff and the SS/Personalhauptamt, none of which have survived to the author's knowledge.
  - 6 Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT), 20: 189.
  - 7 BDC, SS-Offiziere file, Rolf Heinz Höppner (b. 24.2.10).
  - 8 BDC, SSO, Wilhelm Albrecht (b. 8.9.98).
  - 9 BDC, SSO, Dr. August Simon (b. 14.12.98), Lebenslauf.
  - 10 Currently held by the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden. See George C. Browder, Die Anfänge des SD: Dokumente aus der Organisationsgeschichte des Sicherheitsdienstes des Reichsführers SS, in Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 27 (April 1979): 299-324.
  - 11 Heinz Höhne, Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf, Gütersloh 1967, S. 195, citing Wulf, Die SS, S. 118.
  - 12 Eine Kopie wurde der Generalstaatsanwaltschaft bei dem Kammergericht Berlin am 16. Juni 1970 aus Beständen des Zentralen Staatsarchivs der Oktoberrevolution in Moskau überlassen.
  - 13 This process was best summarized in Hans Buchheim, Die SS - das Herrschaftsinstrument, in Martin Brozat et al., Anatomie des SS-Staates, Bd. 1, Olten und Freiburg, 1965.
  - 14 RSHA, 1 Ala(1) Nr. 695/43, Februar 1944, Iststärkenachweisung der Sicherheitspolizei... und des SD. Stand 1.1.1944, T-175/240/2730236, EAP 173-b-10-05/32.
  - 15 BDC/Mappe Polizei, Namentliches Verzeichnis der bei der Preußischen Geheimen Staatspolizei, stellv. Chef und Inspekteur und bei dem Geheimen Staatspolizeiamt Berlin, beschäftigten männlichen Personen nach dem Stande vom 25. Juni 1935; and Sammeliste 49/1-12,20-164, covering 33 of the 35 Staatspolizeistellen.
  - 16 Horst-Adelbert Koch, Zur Organisationsgeschichte der Deutschen Polizei 1927-1939, Feldgrau, 5 (1957): 169, provides figures indicating such a ratio for plainclothes policemen in 1932.
  - 17 Shlomo Aronson, Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte von Gestapo und SD, Stuttgart 1971, S. 164-68; and Browder, Zur frühen Organisationsgeschichte, S. 306.
  - 18 Gesamtstärkemeldung der SS, April 1935, T-175/111/2636038; und Statistisches Jahrbuch der SS, 1937, T-175/205/4042245.
  - 19 Erminhild Neussüss-Hunkel, Die SS, Marburg/Lahn 1956, S. 13.

20 Buchheim, Die SS, S. 101-113.

21 Schellenberg testimony, January 4, 1946, IMT, 4:380.

22 See Note 15.

23 Ohlendorf testimony, January 3, 1946, IMT, 4:329.